

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 9695

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, KS

SUBJ: MIKI VISIT PAPER: ROK-JAPAN RELATIONS

1. THE FALL OF SAIGON, PRECEDED BY KIM IL-SUNG'S VISIT TO PEKING, SPARKED WIDESPREAD DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE PARALLELS AFFECTING THE FUTURE OF KOREA AND UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ROK TO JAPAN'S SECURITY. APPREHENSION OVER AMERICAN RELIABILITY AS AN ALLY, FEAR OF KIM IL-SUNG'S INTENTIONS, AND WORRY THAT PRESIDENT PARK'S EMERGENCY MIGHT ERODE FURTHER ROK UNITY AND STRENGTH ALL MADE THE POSSIBILITY OF A SHIFT IN THE KOREAN POWER BALANCE SEEM POSSIBLE. SUBSEQUENT EVENTS -- STRONG US REAFFIRMATIONS OF THE SECURITY COMMITMENT TO KOREA, MODERATIONS OF KIM'S STATEMENTS, THE FIRM AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THE MAYAGUEZ INCIDENT -- HAVE CALMED JAPANESE FEARS, BUT A RESIDUE OF ANXIETY REMAINS. WITH ITS LEVERAGE TO AFFECT ROK SECURITY VERY LIMITED AND ITS OPTIONS CIRCUMSCRIBED BY DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONCERNS, GOJ HAS BEEN CONCENTRATING ON TACTICAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MOVES TO BUILD ROK CONFIDENCE, SUPPORT ITS INTERESTS IN THE AREA, AND DEMONSTRATE TO THE US THAT JAPAN CARES AS MUCH ABOUT KOREA AS IT SAYS IT DOES.

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2. WHILE DOMESTIC POLITICAL REQUIREMENT FOR SATISFACTION ON KIM T'AE-JUNG CASE HAS PREVENTED THE GOJ FROM SCHEDULING THE LONG DELAYED JOINT MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE, PRIME MINISTER MIKI IS SENDING FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA TO SEOUL JULY 23-24 AS A

SIGN OF BASIC SOLIDARITY WITH THE ROK IN ADVANCE OF THE WASHINGTON TRIP. WHAT CONCRETE RESULTS MAY COME OUT OF THE VISIT ARE DIFFICULT TO PREDICT. MIYAZAWA MAINTAINS THAT HIS TRIP IS NOT A PRELUDE TO A MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE, BUT SOME PROGRESS ON THE ISSUES THAT BLOCK THE CONFERENCE IS LIKELY BEFORE MIYAZAWA GOES TO SEOUL, THEREBY HELPING TO LAY GROUNDWORK FOR FUTURE MEETING.

3. GOJ REPORTEDLY SCHEDULED NEXT WEEK TO SET SCENE FOR MIYAZAWA VISIT BY EXCHANGING DIPLOMATIC NOTES WHICH WILL FORMALLY COMMIT TWO YEN LOANS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, TOTALING 23.4 BILLION YEN (ABOUT 80 MILLION DOLLARS AT 296 YEN/DOLLAR), WHICH WERE ORIGINALLY PROMISED BY JAPANESE DURING APRIL WORKING LEVEL AID MEETINGS (TOKYO 4484). APRIL AGREEMENT BY JAPANESE TO EXTEND THESE NEW LOANS HAD BEEN DELAYED BOTH BY INTRA-GOJ BUREAUCRATIC PROBLEMS AND "SLOW DOWN" OF WORKING LEVEL DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING THEM. AS FURTHER SWEETENER TO SOUTH, GOJ HAS DECIDED TO REVERSE POLICY AND CONTINUE GOVERNMENT AID PROGRAM TO ROK AT SUBSTANTIAL LEVEL.

4. MOST RECENTLY, ON JULY 15, GOJ SUSPENDED OFFICIAL INSURANCE FOR EXPORTS TO NORTH KOREA, THEREBY IN EFFECT OUTTING OFF NEW TRADE WITH THAT COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH MEASURE CAN BE JUSTIFIED ON BASIS OF NORTH KOREA'S INABILITY TO MEET EXPORT BILL DUE DATES, POLITICAL BENEFITS FOR RELATIONSHIP WITH ROK ARE OBVIOUS. DRASTIC ACTION AGAINST EXPORTS FOLLOWS ON GOJ MOVE LAST MAY TO PLACE PYONGYANG IN "HIGH RISK" CATEGORY FOR PURPOSES OF GRANTING OFFICIAL LONG-TERM CREDIT INSURANCE, WHICH HAD EFFECT OF SUSPENDING NEW EX-IM BANK LOANS TO NORTH KOREA.

5. AS USUAL, JAPANESE ARE CO-SPONSORING FRIENDLY RESOLUTION IN UNGA THIS YEAR AND WILL SUPPORT ROK UN POSITION AS ACTIVELY AS BEFORE. THEY ARE INTRIGUED BY NEW STRATEGY OF OFFERING TO DISMANTLE UN COMMAND PROVIDED ARMISTICE MAINTAINED, NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT IS TACTICALLY SOUND, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT OFFERS THE PROSPECT FOR FURTHER DIALOGUE BETWEEN ROK-DPRK. GOJ REMAINS CONVINCED THAT RESUMPTION OF NORTH-SOUTH TALKS WILL HELP MAINTAIN CONFIDENTIAL

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STABILITY ON PENINSULA, AND CONTINUES TO CALL FOR IT (MOST RECENTLY IN FONMIN MIYAZAWA'S JULY 10 FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT'S CLUB SPEECH).

5. RECOMMENDED US POSITION--HAVING SOLICITED MIKI'S VIEWS ON KOREAN SITUATION, WE SHOULD ASSURE HIM AGAIN OF THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ROK, OUR TROOP PRESENCE, AND THE STABILITY OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA FOR THE SECURITY OF BOTH JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES. SIMILARLY PRIME MINISTER SHOUPWIBE ENCOURAGED TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC DURING HIS VISIT, THE IMPORTANCE THAT JAPAN ATTACHES TO THE SECURITY OF THE ROK. WE SHOULD REITERATE HOW VITAL IT IS TO THE SECURITY OF THE

REGION THAT JAPAN AND THE ROKMMANTAIN CLOSE RELATIONSHIP.
WE SHOULD ASK FOR A RUNDOWN ON FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA'S
VISIT TO SEOUL AND CONGRATULATE HIM ON CONTRIBUTIONS HE
MADE TO ROK-JAPAN RELATIONS. WE SHOULD INQUIRE ABOUT
PROSPECTS FOR JOINT MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE, AND IF NO
CONFERENCE IN SIGHT, WE SHOULD STRONGLY URGE JAPANESE TO
SUBMERGE DIFFERENCES ON THIS ISSUE FOR SAKE OF OUR LARGER
MUTUAL INTERESTS.
HODGSON

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